UNIVERSITY OF PENNSYLVANIA

OFFICE AND ACTIONS OF THE LORD LIEUTENANT IN TUDOR ENGLAND

ELIZABETH FULLER JACKSON

A THESIS

IN HISTORY

PRESENTED TO THE FACULTY OF THE GRADUATE SCHOOL IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE OF DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY.

PHILADELPHIA
1923

STANFORD UNIVERSITY LIBRARIES
WITHDRAWN

3781
P41J
UNCLASSED
Dissertation

OFFICE AND ACTIONS OF THE LORD LIEUTENANT IN TUDOR ENGLAND

A THESIS

IN HISTORY

PRESENTED TO THE FACULTY OF THE GRADUATE SCHOOL OF THE UNIVERSITY OF PENNSYLVANIA IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE OF DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY.

ELIZABETH FULLER JACKSON

PHILADELPHIA
1923

PART I.

THE OFFICE OF THE LORD LIEUTENANT OF THE SHIRE.

CHAPTER I.

Origin of the Office.

During the reigns of Edward VI and Mary Tudor and, to a considerably greater degree, in the reign of the great Elizabeth there was one term which was very commonly and conveniently used as a title for various officials. This was the title "Lieutenant." The Calendar of State Papers Domestic and the Acts of the Privy Council for this period contain frequent references to the "Lieutenant of the Forces," the "Lieutenant of the North," the "Lieutenant of Ireland," the "Lieutenant of the Tower," the "Lieutenant of Dover Castle," and the "Lieutenant of the Shire." The first two were temporary emergency officials. The title "Lieutenant of the Forces" was given to the commander of the entire land forces of England when there was thought to be danger of an invasion. The "Lieutenant of the North" was appointed to command the forces in the north when the Scotch were threatening to cross the border or when an insurrection was menacing the quiet of the realm. When the trouble was suppressed these two titles lapsed. After 1570 the title "Lieutenant of the North" disappeared from the records and the title of "Lieutenant of the Forces" seem to have fallen into disuse by the end of Elizabeth's reign. The other officials, on the other hand, were permanent and regular officers of the crown. The Lord Lieutenant of Ireland (sometimes spoken of as the Lord Deputy of Ireland), the Lieutenant of the Tower, and the Lieutenant of Dover Castle were appointed to govern the particular place named in the title. A study of the various officials designated shows that the term was applied to those officials appointed by the Crown to act as its deputies in the command of certain important forces, or in the government of special places.

Lieutenant was "the only ordinary and usual name everywhere given to the chief Governor of bodies politic under her Majesty in time of peace"[1] according to some of Elizabeth's subjects. This general use of the term continued for some time but it also acquired a special significance as the Lord Lieutenants of the Shires increased in importance.

With the rise of the Lieutenancy of the Shires the term Lieutenant came more and more to be associated with that particular office. So far had this gone by 1590 that the Lord Lieutenant in some instances had come to consider it his own particular title and to resent its use by any other official as an infringement upon his prerogative. This was true of Roger, Lord North, the Lord Lieutenant of Cambridgeshire who was in continual disagreement with the University of Cambridge. In 1591 the University students and one of Lord North's retainers quarrelled during the time of the Sturbridge Fair; the students were worsted and one was seriously wounded. As a result they applied to the Vice-Chancellor for a warrent for the arrest of the servant. When the arrest was attempted Lord North rescued his servant and a riot ensued in which Lord North claimed that his own life was endangered. He complained to Lord Burghley against the University and the University authorities also wrote to him giving their version of the trouble. They claimed to believe that the arrest was not the real reason for Lord North's challenge but that "this challenge groweth out from a former displeasure which his Lordship hath concieved against us for the title of Lieutenant which we have for a long time given unto our honourable Chancellor in the proclaiming of Sturbridge Fair and for which he did lately challenge us in a public assembly."[1]

The question as to when the first Lord Lieutenant of a Shire was appointed is an interesting one. From a slight study of the problem it is evident that quite early there were individual cases of counties that were governed by Lord Lieutenants but we are chiefly concerned with a study of the government of

[1]Cooper: Annals of Cambridge, II, p. 502.

[1]Cooper: Annals of Cambridge, II, p. 502.

the counties by these officers when this type had become a common form. Commissions of Lieutenancy were issued by Henry VIII in the fourth year of his reign (August 1512). But it is quite evident from their language that these were special cases.[2] By the begining of the reign of Edward VI, however, it seems that the Lord Lieutenant of the Shire was a familiar official. In the first year of his reign (1547) Edward sent a letter to the Deputy Lieutenant of Hants, to raise the forces and "convey them to Portsmouth, to resist the enterprises of the French against the realm."[3] The next February when the Scots were waging war against him the king wrote "to the Lord Lieutenant of (Sussex)" informing him that "a great aid is soon to sail for succor of the Scots, which may, in their passage attempt to damage our realm. You shall there fore cause all the beacons to be diligently watched, from 6 March till farther orders, and all fit to serve in the wars, who were lately mustered, to be in readiness at an hours warning."[1] Nothing in either of these commissions implies that the Lord Lieutenant was an unusual official at this time or that the duties which he was to perform were new. Nevertheless, Strype tells us in his "Annals of Elizabeth" that "in 1549 began the making of the Lord Lieutenants of the Counties; whose commissions bare date July 24, 3rd. Edward VI as I find it in a clerk of the Crown's Book of the Cotton Library."[2]

During that year Lord Lieutenants were mentioned probably for the first time in the Statute entitled "An Act against Rebellyous Assemblys," 3rd and 4th Edward VI, c. f. It provides "That if the King shall by his Lettres Patents make anye Lyvenante in Countie or Counties of this Realm for the suppression of any comocion, rebellion, or unlawful assembly, that then as well Justices of Peace of every such Countie and and the Sherif and Sheriffs of the same, as all Mayors, Bayliffs, and other hed officers and all inhabitants and subjects of

[2]Rymers Foedera, VI, Part II, p. 35.

[3]C. of S. P. D., 1603, p. 328.

[1]Ibid, p 363.

[2]Strype: Annals III, p. 278.

any county citie, borough, or towne corporate within everie such countie, shall upon the declaration of the said Lettres Patent and request made be to gyve attendance upon the same Lyvenante to suppress any comotion, rebellion, or unlawful assembly unless he or they being so requirred having any excuse for his not attendance upon payn of imprisonment for one whole yere."[3] Shortly after the passage of this act by Parliament a royal order commanded the Lord Lieutenants of counties to levy men for service in the North and have their forces assembled at Berwick in a month's time. The order called the attention of the Lord Lieutenants to the complaints which had been made against them for sparing their own and their friends' tenants and "burdening our servants and those of our councillors."[4] Again in October, the Lord Lieutenants of certain counties were directed "to select those who had been ringleaders in the late commotions"[5] to be sent to reenforce the hard pressed English army at Boulogne. At about this same time the Council addressed letters to the Lord Lieutenants to enforce the execution of the proclamation "for reducing the high price of corn and other commodities."[1] It becomes clear from these several references that even in the time of Edward VI the Lord Lieutenant of the Shire was an established and important official in the government of the realm.

An act of Parliament similar to the one in Edward's reign was passed in the first year of Mary's reign but it contained the additional provision "That no Lieutenant or Lieutenants that shall be appointed or made by aucthoritie or colour of this act, or for the execution of this act, shall in any wise make or constitute under him or them, or in his place or their places, any Deputy or Deputies, nor shall not convent or appoint to appear before him or them by the only auctoritie of Lieutenancye or of Commission of Lieutenancy any person or persons for any cause or matter whatsoever save only for the

[3]Statues of the Realm, Vol IV, Part I, p. 107.

[4]C. of S. P. D., 1601-1603, p. 396.

[5]Ibid, p. 30.

[1]Ibid, p. 30.

causes and matters expressed by this present act and for none other."[2] This provision shows that the office of Lord Lieutenant of a Shire had been in existence for some time and was increasing in importance to such a degree at this period that it was felt necessary to put statutory limitations on the powers of this group of officials.

Reference has been made in some of the passages quoted to the Deputy Lieutenant, and, at this point, it may be well to notice the relationship of this official to the Lord Lieutenant. The Deputy Lieutenant was the official next below the Lord Lieutenant in the Shire—he was subordinate to the Lord Lieutenant in power, and usually, in rank, as well. When a Lord Lieutenant was appointed his Deputies were named for him in his commission and he was authorized to appoint them. But the exercise of the power of appointment was a nominal rather than a real power of the Lord Lieutenant. When it was necessary for the Lord Lieutenant to be absent from the Shire for any reason the Deputy Lieutenant performed his duties for him. Thus, through their Deputy Lieutenants, a good many Lord Lieutenants were able to carry on the government of their counties in absentia. It was customary during the reigns of Edward VI and Mary Tudor to have two Deputy Lieutenants for each county but during the later years of Elizabeth's reign two was the smallest number that the law allowed and most counties had three or more. In 1600 the Court of Star Chamber decreed that each county must have at least two Deputies and that the action of one alone was not valid.[1] The tendency to increase the number had been growing for several years before this.[2] The Deputy Lieutenant was usually chosen from those having the rank of knight; in some cases, however, he was a member of the lower class of the country gentry. Frequently he held the commission of the peace as well as that of Deputy Lieutenant of the Shire. The method of appointment

---

[2]Statues of the Realm, Vol. IV, Part I, p. 213.

[1]Hawarde: Reports, p. 115.

[2]A. of P. C., 1599-1600, p. 56.

was the same for the Deputy as for the Lord Lieutenant and will be discussed in some detail in the next chapter.

The special duty of the Deputy Lieutenant was to see that the Lord Lieutenant's orders were enforced in every community of his county. The Lord Lieutenant was too important a personage in the government to be spared to visit every tiny hamlet so this devolved upon the Deputy. He was the one, therefore, who was usually blamed when orders were not carried out, and probably justly blamed. Sometimes when the Lord Lieutenant was absent the Privy Council communicated directly with the Deputy Lieutenants. This was the case when the Earl of Leicester was sent to the Low Countries and his deputies carried on the government in his counties, Essex and Hertfordshire.[3] The Council kept very close watch over the Deputies—so close, in face, that it knew their personal affairs as well as the things that affected the execution of their duties directly. An interesting illustration is to be found in the case of Sir Henry Neville, when in his report to the Lord Treasurer he asked leave "for a quiet day to go a wooing in."[1]

The Deputy Lieutenant was expected to remain in the county during the absence of his Lord Lieutenant but permission was frequently given for absence on matters of personal business. The country gentry often had occasion to travel quite extensively in those days and the Deputy Lieutenants were responsible members of this class. They were chosen from those who were supposed to be "well affected in religion" and who favored the government in power. The relation between the Lord Lieutenant and his Deputies was so intimate that a study of the Lord Lieutenant must include the Deputy Lieutenant in order to be complete. In fact so close was the relation between the two that often it is impossible to tell whether the records are referring to the Lord Lieutenant or to the Deputy Lieutenants.

The first reference to the lieutenancy of a shire after Mary's accession is a unique and interesting one. It is an abstract

[3]C. of S. P. D., 1586-1587, p. 428.
[1]Ibid, 1547-1580, p. 155.

of a bill exhibited by the Lord Treasurer (the Marquis of Winchester):—"For himself and Lord St. John, his son, to be lieutenants of Hampshire, Southampton, Winchester, and the Isles of Portsmouth and Wight ..... to have the lieutenancy for their lives, successively, with command to all in the isles to be attendant upon them; also a discharge for anything they do in execution of their lieutenancy, one of them to be resident to execute the charge."[2] So far as we can find Mary never gave another similar grant—perhaps she learned discretion with experience. Elizabeth never made any such extensive grant—and for years she even refused to allow Lord Burghley's son to succeed his father. After Wyatt's rebellion Mary issued a general notice to the Lord Lieutenants of the counties "to proclaim as traitors Henry, Duke of Norfolk, the Carews, Wyatt, and others who threatened her distruction and to advance Lady Jane Grey and her Husband."[3]

Mary's marriage to Philip II of Spain eventually involved England in a war with France and the Lord Lieutenants were instructed to levy soldiers to serve in France, especially to reenforce Calais "the chief Jewell of the Realme" as Mary called it.[1] The loss of the city, the damage done to the English fleet by the storm, and the generally poor fortune of the English arms gave rise to fear of invasion by the French and spurred the Crown to give orders to the Lord Lieutenants concerning the defence of their counties.[2] Late in October the Queen issued several commissions of Lieutenancy[3] to further insure the defence of the realm. This was one of her last notices for her death followed within three week of its promulgation.

---

[2]C. of S. P. D., 1601-1603, p. 432.

[3]C. of S. P. D., 1547-1580, p. 57

[1]Ibid, p. 97.

[2]Ibid, p. 100.

[3]Ibid, p. 108.

CHAPTER II.

Method of Appointment.

With Mary's death the experimental period in the history of the lieutenancy of the counties was brought to a close. A definite system had been established by the time of Elizabeth's accession. For this reason the material for the discussion of the method of appointment is taken from Elizabeth's reign rather than from the earlier period.

At the beginning of Elizabeth's reign some counties in England had never been under Lord Lieutenants but by 1560 this was no longer true. When it seemed necessary to the Queen that a county be put under a Lord Lieutenant's supervision she made the choice herself. His name was sent to the Lord Chancellor who was instructed to issue a commission of lieutenancy to him in the form of the Queen's Lettres Patent under the Great Seal of England. Quite frequently the Privy Council addressed a letter to the gentleman appointed informing him that he had been appointed and would receive his commission shortly. Several of these letters are printed in the Acts of the Privy Council. Among the most interesting is the one written February 17, 1585-6 to the Marquis of Winchester:—"Whereas her Majesty for divers considerations found it convenient in those times of jealousy to appoint Lieutenants for the maritime counties of the Realm, and amongst other the countie of Dorset was committed to the charge of the Earl of Bedford, by whose decease that commission being void her Majesty, upon the good opinion she hath conceaved of his Lordship's readiness and care to further and advance all things that may any concern her service; hath made choice of his Lordship to supply that charge, for which purpose she hath directed her Lettres Patentes to his Lordship under the Great Seal of England, which their Lordships thought good to accompanie with this letter with such instructions then set down and delivered to the Lords Lieutenants and as his Lordship hath the like for his countie of Southampton."[1] The letter then proceeds to

[1]A. of P. C., 1585-1586, p. 14.

give the Marquis some special instructions which will be discussed later on.

Early in Elizabeth's reign she seems to have decided upon the policy of keeping the appointment of Lord Lieutenants entirely in her own hands. The one exception to this general rule occurred in 1560 when she delegated her authority to the Duke of Norfolk, then acting as Lieutenant of the North.[1] Her letter conferring these special powers was written April 25, 1560. It reads: "Right trusty and right entirely beloved Cosyn we grete you well. And whereas we have thought it necessary, as well for defence of our Realm against forryn Enemies, as for preservacion of common order at home, and meeting with such disorder, as percase may be committed amongst our own People, to put our hole Realm in the best order we can desire; and for that Purpose have appointed Lieutenants to have the Government and rule of every Shere, saving such Sheres as be within the Lymittes of your Commission: We being desirous to have those also provided for in this behalf, have thought good to require you to consider herupon, and using therein the Advice of such wise and skillfull men, as you have there, to committ your Auctoritie of Lieutenancy to such one Person or more, within every Shere in your Commission, during the Tyme of your Commission as you shall think good to make choice of; forseeing nevertheless that, as ner as may be, the same persons, that have heretofore occupied the Place of Lieutenants, in every of those sheres may be again appointed to the same charge, without changing any of them, except ye shall perceive urgent occasion to the contrary; for which purposee send unto you herewith a Note of their names, that have bene Lieutenants heretofore in those Quarters. And to the Intent you may the better know how to give orders to such as you shall appointe to be your Deputies in every Shere in this Case you shall receive herewith a Copie of such Instructions, as we have devised to be sent to other our Lieutenants of the rest of the Realm: praying you, after perusing thereof, to choose out

[1] Haynes: State Papers, p. 229.

of the same matter, as you shall thinke meete to instruct your Deputies withall, for preservation of common order in every Shere, and for answering of the Forces of the Shere to your Commandment, as occasion shall require for our Service; or for repressing of Rebellions, if any arrise within any of the same Sheres; or for the Defence of the Sea Coasts as the Nature of the Country serveth. And herein we remyt to your discretion to add of your own, alter, or take away, according to the Consideration of the Case, and Nature of the Country, as you with such good Advice as you may have here of men skillfull and acquainted with the manners of those Countrys, shall think best; So nevertheless as you do further with us good speed as you can, take order herein, for that the Tyme of the Yere requireth no less. And of your doings, in this matter, we would be glad to have a certificate for our better satisfaction Accordingly."[1]

At the time when the Queen appointed a Lord Lieutenant she also appointed two or three gentlemen to serve under him as his Deputy Lieutenants and their names were always included in the commission of the Lord Lieutenant. Whenever it became necessary to appoint a new Deputy for any reason the Queen sent the Lord Lieutenant a new commission. Because of this one Lord Lieutenant often received several commissions during his administration of a shire.

Occasionally an entirely new set of commissions seems to have been issued to the Lord Lieutenants of some groups of counties. In June, 1585, the Earl of Bedford sent a note to Walsingham specifying his various commissions of lieutenancy from the 14th of March 1558 to the 4th of June 1574.[2] Elizabeth seldom revoked a commission. The first instance was in the case of the Earl of Arundel who was one of her sister's appointees. In 1559 she wrote Arundel that "the musters having been taken for the county of Sussex, his commission of lieutenancy ceased."[3] Whether she suspected his loyalty to her

[1]Haynes: State Papers, p. 298.

[2]C. of S. P. D., 1581-1590, p. 240.

[3]Ibid, 1547-1580, p. 140.

or what the cause may have been for this action she evidently changed her mind for within a year she had appointed him Lord Lieutenant of Sussex and of Surrey as well.[1]

[1]Ibid, 1601-1603, p. 495.

CHAPTER III.

The Commission.

There was no definite term of office for the Lord Lieutenant of the Shire. Usually after a Lord Lieutenant had been appointed to a shire he continued to hold that office till his death. Sometimes, but not often, the Queen saw fit to transfer him to some other shire and grant his previous position to some new lieutenant. More often she simply added another shire to his charge as in the case of Arundel whom we mentioned in the preceeding chapter. It has been thought that new commissions were issued each year during Elizabeth's reign—but there certainly seems to be no foundation of fact upon which to base such a claim. When it pleased the Queen new commissions were issued but not as often as once a year.

The first reference to a commission of Lieutenancy after Elizabeth's accession is found in 1561 when she wrote to the sheriffs and Justices of Peace of counties that she did not intend "to issue any commission of lieutenancy this summer; but to leave the government of the counties to their charge."[1] In 1569 a "list of the names of the Lieutenants of Counties with their styles and titles, as they were rehearsed in the commissions issued at Windsor, all in November, 12 Elizabeth" was made.[2] The names of thirty-two Lord Lieutenants were included in this list. Another list was made at about the same time of those counties not supplied with Lord Lieutenants.[3]

"The late unnatural rebellion in the North" having been suppressed the Queen wrote to certain Lord Lieutenants in November of the following year that she thought it expedient to revoke her Commissions of Lieutenancy and sent her "hearty thanks" for their services.[4] Similar letters were sent to their Deputy Lieutenants.[4] A new commission was issued in 1574 and there is no evidence of another until 1585.[1] Lord

---

[1]C. of S. P. D., 1547-1580, p. 181
[2]Ibid —, 349.
[3]Salisbury Papers I, p. 443.
[4]C. of S. P. D., 1547-1580, p. 396.
[1]Ibid, p. 480.

Burghley then made a list of the Lord Lieutenants of the Maritime Counties and compared it with the list of 1569.

During 1586 several new commissions of lieutenancy were issued. Probably the most interesting appointment of that year was that of the young Earl of Bath to be Lord Lieutenant of Devonshire. Concerning his appointment the following letter from the Privy Council is of interest:—"Whereas her Majesty hath appointed his Lordship her Lieutenant in the County of Devon, forasmuch as by reason of his young yeres he is not able to exercise and sufficiently discharge the place, her Majesty's pleasure is that he shall from time to time use the advice and cownsell of his Deputy Lieutenants following therein such instructions and directions as were heretofore sent unto the said gentlemen. And whereas doubt is made that the former instructions were not presently to be founde, their Lordships have sent the said Earl a new copie of the same with the commissions."[2] Why the Queen saw fit to appoint a gentleman of "his young yeres," too young apparently to exercise the functions of his office is a mystery. The mystery is heightened by the fact that the Queen had waited a full year after the death of the Earl of Bedford before appointing his successor. Elizabeth was not in the habit of appointing men too young to assume the responsibility of their office. The fact that the office did carry a great measure of responsibility and that no salary was paid for its administration does not help to solve the problem of Bath's appointment.

A set of commissions was issued in 1590[3] and again in 1596 we find a warrant to the Lord Keeper of the Great Seal to issue new commissions for the Lord Lieutenants.[4] There is no evidence of an issue at a later date in Elizabeth's reign. It is highly improbable that if a new set of commissions were issued every year everyone save the half dozen mentioned would have been lost.

The problem of carrying on the government of the shire dur-

[2] A. of P. C., 1586, p. 239.

[3] C. of S. P. D., 1581-1590, p. 656.

[4] Murdin: State Papers, p. 809.

ing the interim between the death of the Lord Lieutenant and the appointment of his successor was not always solved in the same manner in the early part of Elizabeth's reign. Sometimes the Queen allowed the government to revert to the Sheriffs and Justices of the Peace.[1] This was what happened in 1570 when the Earl of Pembroke, Lord Lieutenant of Wiltshire, died.[2] In 1586 when the Earl of Bedford died his Deputy Lieutenasts were charged with government of Cornwall and Devon but informed that their authority as Deputy Lieutenants had ceased at Bedford's death.[3] Shortly after this, however, the Privy Council addressed letters to them styling them Deputy Lieutenants.[4] This practise was followed again when the Earl of Leicester died in 1588.[5] In 1595 the Council of the North was authorized to carry on the administration Yorkshire.[6]

About this time the Queen decided to change her method of procedure to a more systematic and standardized way of dealing with the situation. A commission was granted to the Lord Keeper of the Great Seal and others of the Privy Council "to give directions to the Sheriffs and principal men of each county where the Lord Lieutenant is deceased or may decease, for training and mustering the forces of their respective counties." Before the commission could receive the Great Seal the Lord Keeper died and therefore, it was not issued till December, 1596.[7] After this the Privy Council appointed a commission to serve for a year, then if the Queen had not decided on the new Lord Lieutenant, the men appointed by the Council continued to act till she was ready to choose.

The powers vested by a commission of lieutenancy were broad. The Lord Lieutenant was given absolute military supremacy over his county: he was authorized to suppress re-

[1]C. of S. P. D., 1547-1580, p. 181.
[2]Ibid, p. 367.
[3]Ibid, 1581-1590, p. 304.
[4]A. of P. C., 1585-6, p. 40-41.
[5]C. of S. P. D., 1581-1590, p. 550.
[6]Ibid, 1595-1597, p. 143-165.
[7]C. of S. P. D., 1595-1597, p. 313.

bellion or repel invasion. The commission empowered him to levy, arm, and muster all persons liable to military service in his county and to lead the county forces against all foes either domestic or foreign. In case of rebellion or invasion outside of his own district the commission allowed him to take such forces as were at his command and attempt to put down the disturbance by such methods as he considered best fitted to meet the situation. If the exigency of the situation demanded it he might use martial law to its fullest extent. He might choose and appoint muster-masters and one provost-martial for each shire but could only appoint as his deputy lieutenants such gentlemen as were named in his commission. He does not seem to have exercised his power to appoint provost-martials, however, as special commissions were sent out authorizing the Lord Lieutenants to appoint provost-martials. The Justices of Peace, "other our officers, ministers, and subjects within our said county" were ordered "to be attendant and at the commandment of the Lord Lieutenant and his Deputies."[1]

The Lord Lieutenant received no salary but was indemnified in advance for any act committed under the authority of the commission.[1] The Lord Lieutenant was charged with fixing the quotas of the county, of each wapentake, parish, and township[2] and of the gentry of his county for their "furniture" (money, arms, accoutrements, or horses). He held reviews of the forces; inspected the arms and ordnance; attended to the payment of the troops when they were sent out of the realm; saw to supplying their clothes;[3] kept the muster-rolls.[4] Maintenance of the beacons and the inspection of the breeding of horses and mares in the parks of the gentry of the shire were also a part of his duty.[5]

The collection of subsidies and benevolences and other royal

[1] A complete commission of a Lord Lieutenant is given in Prothero. Prothero: Select Statutes, p. 154-156.

[2] C. of S. P. D., 1547-1580, p. 375.

[3] Somerset Mns., p. 19.

[4] Ibid, p. 6.

[5] C. of S. P. D, 1581-1590, p. 163.

and county taxes was often under his supervision.[1] He was responsible for the enforcement of the Privy Council's orders. He issued proclamations, saw that the Act of Uniformity of Common Prayer was enforced; searched out Roman Catholics, —priests or laymen—and granted licenses to the recusants in his county.[2]

[1] Lancashire Lieutenancy, Part I, p. 24.
[2] A. of P. C., 1586-7, p. 123.

CHAPTER IV.

Personnel.

An indication of the importance of an office is usually to be found in the personnel of the men who have administered it. The lieutenancy of the shires is no exception to this general rule and a simple catalogue of their names would be illuminating. When, however, it is possible to ascertain their rank and a knowledge of other offices which were entrusted to them we are in a still better position to judge concerning the importance of this particular office.

Our information concerning the list of men who served Mary as Lord Lieutenants is not complete but what we have is well worth considering. The Duke of Norfolk,[1] the Marquis of Winchester,[1] the Earl of Arundel,[1] the Earl of Shrewsbury,[1] the Earl of Pembroke,[1] the Earl of Derby,[1] Sir Thomas Cheyney,[2] and the Marquis of Dorset[2] were numbered among her Lord Lieutenants of Shires. All of these gentlemen were also members of her Privy Council.[3] Norfolk was the highest peer in the Realm; Winchester held the office of Lord High Treasurer; Arundel was Lord Steward; Shrewsbury was Lord President of the North; Pembroke held the Presidency of Wales; while Sir Thomas Cheyney served both as Treasurer of the Household and Lord Warden of the Cinque Ports.

Besides these extremely important names Mary's list include some of lesser magnitude such as the Earl of Bedford,[4] the Earl of Oxford,[4] Viscount Montague,[4] Lord Willoughby,[4] and Lord St. John of Bletso.[4] They not only served Mary as Lord Lieutenants of Shires but were continued in office by Elizabeth in spite of the change in religion that accompanied her accession to the throne. At first Elizabeth seems to have doubted the loyalty of the Earl of Arundel but she reappointed him to both positions which he held under her sister and he continued as Lord Lieutenant of Sussex and Lord Steward

[1]C. of S. P. D., 1547-1580, p. 108.
[2]Ibid, p. 33.
[3]A. of P. C., 1558-1570, p. 3.
[4]C. of S. P. D., 1547-1580, p. 108.

until 1564 when following a quarrel with Robert Dudley (by this time Earl of Leicester) he resigned.[1] In 1559 Elizabeth deprived the Earl of Bedford of the Lieutenancy of Dorset but at the same time appointed him to the Privy Council and confirmed his commission over Devon and Cornwall.[2]

In 1560 Elizabeth appointed several additional Lord Lieutenants. Among them were Sir Thomas Parry then a member of the Privy Council and later Treasurer of the Household and Master of the Court of Wards.[3] Lord Chandos received his commission for Gloucestershire at this time[4] and Sir Robert Dudley was made Lord Lieutenant of Warwickshire.[5]

Not until ten years after Elizabeth's accession do we find a list of those to whom she had granted commissions of lieutenancy. Lord Burghley made it out on November 20, 1569. It is a "minute of certain Lords appointed Lieutenants in certain Shires:—By the Queen:—Right truly, etc., Forasmuch as it hath byn of late brought to our Knowledge, that certain of our unnatural Subjects of the North have attempted to stirr our People in those Partes to Disobedience and Rebellion upon certain wicked and malicious Pretences and Devices, to the trouble and danger of our Estate, if the sam should not be provided for and mett withal in time; and finding it therefore necessary to have the Force of our good and loving Subjects through out our Realm, to be put in convenient Rediness for the better withstanding of all Inconvenience that might be offered; We have thought meet for the assured good opinion we have conceyved of your Wisdom, Experience, and Fidelity towards us, to appoint you to be our Lieutenant, and have the charge of that our County of —— and for that Purpose have herewith addressed our Commission of Lieutenancy under our Great Seal of England unto you Earnestly requiring you, not only to have special care and regard to the preservation and

[1]A. of P. C., 1558-1570, p. 415.

[2]Ibid, p. 3.

[3]Lancashire Lieutenancy, Part I, p. lxi.

[4]C. of S. P. D., 1547-1580, p. 161.

[5]Ibid, p. 129

maintainance of good order and quiet amongst our Subjects of our said Countie, and to do your best endeavor for the suppressing of any Stirre and Tumult that should any ways be attempted by our Unnatural Subjects within your Rule; but also to put the whole Force of all the Hablemen, both on horseback and on foot, within our said county, in such good order and Rediness, furnished with their Armour and Weapons, as they may always upon one hour's warning be ready to serve us, wheresoever you shall appoint, either for the suppression of any Stirre or Rebellion, that might be moved by disordered People, or for the meeting with any forreign Enterprise that might be attempted. Wherein we doubt not but you will use your best Endevor and advertize us from time to time of the State of your Charge, when occasion shall be offered. Lieutenants to whom the Queen's Letters were written in this Forme.

Earl of Shrewsbury { Nottinghamshire / Derbyshire }

Earl of Derby { Lancashire / Cheshire }

Earl of Huntington { Leicestershire / Rutland }

Viscount Hereford—Staffordshire

Lord Clinton, the Lord Admiral—Lincolnshire

Lord Wentworth { Norfolk / Suffolk }

Lord Riche, Lord Darcy of Chiche } Essex

Earl of Bedford—Devonshire and Cornwall

Lord Montague, Lord Buckhurst, Lord De la Ware } Sussex

Lord Mountjoy, Sir William Poulett } Dorsetshire

Lord North—Cambridgeshire

Lord Chandois—Gloucestershire

Sir Walter Mildmay, Sir Robert Tirwhit } Huntingdon
Sir Andrew Corbett—Salop
Earl of Warwick—Warwickshire
Earl of Pembroke—Somersetshire and Wiltshire
Lord Grey—Buckinghamshire
Sir Francis Knollys—Oxfordshire
Lord Camberlyn—Surrey
Sir Ralph Sadler—Hertfordshire
Lord Treasurer—Southamptonshire
Lord St. John of Bletso—Bedfordshire
Lord Treasurer—Middlesex
Earl of Leicester—Worcestershire
Marquis of Winchester—Northamptonshire
Lord Cobham—Kent

Lord Mayor
Lord Treasurer
Sir William Pickering
Sir Thomas Wroth
Sir William Garrard
Lionell Duckett, Alderman,
Thomas Wilbraham, Recorder, } Lord Lieutenants of London[1]

The reason for the issuance of a commission at this time was undoubtedly that given in the Queen's letter—the rising in the North. It was important that those who commanded the forces in this time of uncertainty should be men whom the Queen knew she could trust. The names in the list just quoted were certainly the names of the most responsible men of the time. The Earls of Shrewsbury, Derby, Bedford, Penbroke, and Leicester; Lord Clinton, Lord Burghley, Lord Hunsdon, and Lord Cobham; Sir Walter Mildmay, Sir Ralph Sadler, and the Marquis of Winchester were all Privy Councillors.[1] At least twelve of the Lord Lieutenants in this list of thirty were the Queen's official advisers.

[1]Haynes: State Papers, p. 559.
[1]A. of P. C., 1558-1570, p. 478-483.

The list of 1586 is a much shorter one. The Earl of Bedford, Lord Clinton, Lord St. John of Bletso, Lord Darcy of Chiche, and Lord Riche had died[2] in the interim between 1569 and 1586. Some changes had been made due to the death of these men and for other reasons also. We find the Lord Chamberlain, Lord Hunsdon, no longer Lieutenant of Surrey but of Norfolk and Suffolk. Yorkshire had been added to the counties under the lieutenancy of the Earl of Huntingdon. The list of 1586 was:—

Lord Hunsdon—Norfolk and Suffolk
Lord Howard of Effingham—Surrey
Earl of Rutland—Lincolnshire
Earl of Huntingdon—Yorkshire, Rutland, and Leicestershire
Marquise of Winchester—Southampton and Dorsetshire
Earl of Sussex—Southampton
Lord Buckhurst—Sussex
Lord Howard of Effingham—Sussex
Lord Cobham—Kent
Earl of Pembroke—Somersetshire and Wiltshire
Earl of Shrewsbury—Nottinghamshire and Derbyshire
Earl of Derby—Lanchashire and Cheshire.[1]

Only seventeen counties are accounted for in this list. Lord Montague, Lord De la Ware and Lord Wentworth no longer held commissions apparently. Of this list Howard of Effingham, Buckhurst, Cobham, Derby, Shrewsbury, and Hunsdon were Privy Councillors[2] and nine of the seventeen counties were under their charge while in 1569 eighteen out of the thirty-two counties had been under Privy Councillors who were also Lord Lieutenants of Shires.

The list for 1590 is somewhat longer than that of 1586.

Lord Chancellor—Northampton
Lord Treasurer—Lincolnshire
Marquis of Winchester—Dorsetshire and Southampton

[2]Lancashire Lieutenancy, Part I, p. lvi-lix.
[1]A. of P. C., 1586-1587, p. 199.
[2]A. of P. C., 1586-1587, p. 448-450.

Earl of Shrewsbury—Staffordshire and Derbyshire and Nottingham

Lord Treasurer—Essex and Hartford

Earl of Kent—Bedfordshire

Earl of Huntingdon—Yorkshire, Rutland, and Leicestershire

Earl of Sussex—Southampton

Earl of Bath—Devonshire

Earl of Pembroke—Somersetshire and Wiltshire

Lord Admiral—Surrey and Sussex

Lord Buckhurst—Sussex

Lord Hunsdon—Suffolk and Norfolk

Lord Cobham—Kent

Lord Grey—Buckinhamshire

Lord Chandois—Gloucestershire

Lord Norrys—Berkshire and Oxford

Sir Francis Knollys—Berkshire and Oxford.

Sir Walter Raleigh—Cornwall

Earl of Warwick—Warrickshire

Earl of Pembroke—Salop, Hereford, Monmouth, Worcester, and Wales.[1]

For this list of thirty-four counties (Wales counting as two) we find the Lord Lieutenants included almost every name of esspecial note in the peerage of their time. Five of the Lord Lieutenants on this list were on the first list of Elizabeth's reign. These were Winchester, Lord North, Lord Buckhurst, Shrewsburg and Pembroke. It might almost seem as if Pembroke had more than his share of responsibility for he had six counties besides Wales under his commission. Exactly half of the Lord Lieutenants of this list were Privy Councilors and under their control were eighteen out of the thirty-four counties.[2] There had been very few changes since 1586 other than additions and it may be that the list of 1586 was not a complete list.

Elizabeth's last list of 1597 is a short one. Several of the

[1]Salisbury Papers, IV, p. 14.

[2]A. of P. C., 1590.

greatest nobles and Lord Lieutenants had died in the intervening seven years. Among these were the Earl of Warwick, her Lord Lieutenant of Warwickshire who had served as Master of Horse and Privy Councillor as well; the old Earl of Shrewsbury who had been Lord Lieutenant of Stafford, Derby and Nottingham, as well as Privy Councilor, Earl Marshall of England and Lord High Steward; the Earl of Derby, another Privy Councillor and Lord Lieutenant of Lancashire and Cheshire. The Lord Chancellor, Sir Christopher Hatton; the Lord Chamberlain, Lord Hunsdon; the Lord Warden of the Cinque Ports, Lord Cobham; Lord Grey, and Lord Chandois were other Lord Lieutenants who had died since 1590. Lord North, Lord Buckhurst, and the Marquise of Winchester were the only survivors of the list of 1569. The list of 1597 contained only twelve names[3]—Lord St. John was given Huntingdon and Lord Morley, Hampshire but otherwise the list was, as far as it went, like that of 1590. In 1598 the Marquis of Winchester and Lord Burghley died; in 1600, Lord North and Lord Norrys; and, in 1601, the Earl of Pembroke.[1]

It would be impossible in any one reign to collect a list of more noteable men than those who served as Lord Lieutenants during Elizabeth's reign. In a few cases such as Sir Walter Raleigh's the Lord Lieutenant was not of the highest rank of society but, at least, he belonged among the most conspicuous public servants of his day though he never did receive the title of Lord. A study like this convinces us that in the eyes of the government the office of Lord Lieutenant must have been considered a very responsible one..

[3]C. of S. P. D., 1595-1597, p. 400.

[1]Lancashire Lieutenancy, Part I, p. lvi-lix.

PART II.

THE ACTIVITIES OF THE LORD LIEUTENANTS IN ELIZABETH'S REIGN.

CHAPTER I.

The Period from the Accession of Elizabeth to the Suppression of the Rising of the North.

(1558-1570).

In the January following Elizabeth's accession orders were issued to the Lord Lieutenants to have the Constables send in lists "of all house-holders and their servants between sixteen and sixty years of age, and if they omit any to be sent to prison seven days for each man missing: all resisting to be punished extremely."[1] These list were required in regulating the musters. At this time the queen also informed the Lord Lieutenants "as to the armour and training of the bands, and the prices at which arms were to be furnished from the stores in the Tower."[1]

In May the Lord Lieutenants of Warwickshire, Sir Robert Dudley and Sir Ambrose Cave, received instructions as to the best methods for keeping their county in good order and quiet.[2] Soon after this Lord Williams of Wales was told to send aid from each county under his care to particular parts for their defence.[2]

A report from Sir John Chichester, deputy to the Earl of Bedford, his Lord Lieutenant, brings up two other matters with which the Lord Lieutenants were concerned at this time. Chichester informs the Earl that "the subsidy is well received" and that he has punished several for "bruiting the death of the Queen."[1] These are neither of them strictly military duties.

The Queen called upon the Lord Lieutenants of Stafford-

[1]C. of S. P. D.. 1601-1603, Addenda (1547-1565) p. 488.
[2]Ibid, 1547-1580, p. 129.
[1]Ibid, p. 136.

shire, Warwickshire, and Shropshire to raise seven hundred men for the service at Berwick.[2] In October the certificates of musters began to be sent in by the Lord Lieutenants.[3] This was a year of uncertainty. The people did not know what to expect from their queen and she was sure of neither her subjects nor her neighbors. What the French would do was a question of considerable moment to Elizabeth and she did not intend to be caught unprepared. She issued instructions to the Lord Lieutenants relative to the mustering and arming of the trained bands, the assessment for the charges thereof, etc., for the defence of the realm, because of "these doubtful proceedings of the French."[4] For this same reason the Lord Lieutenants of the two sea-coast counties, Lincoln and Norfolk, were commanded to help each other in case of attack.[1]

Elizabeth never desired to interfere in the affairs of other sovereigns and she was especially loath to aid rebelling subjects, even Protestants against their Catholic ruler. But, sometimes she was forced to do so. When it became evident, in 1560, that, unless she aided the Lords of the Congregation against their regent, the French would gain supremacy in Scotland she sent a fleet to Scotland to intercept French reinforcements. Various Lord Lieutenants were orderd to send forces to Newcastle[2] to assist the Duke of Norfolk who had been made Lieutenant of the North.[3] During this year the Duke of Norfolk was granted the very unusual power of appointing Lord Lieutenants.[4]

The forces of the counties were mustered in January[5] and by May the Privy Council had received some of the certificates.[6] The soldiers do not appear to have been as orderly as the queen wished, for in August she notified the Lord Lieu-

---

[2]C. of S. P. D., 1547-1580, p. 139.
[3]Ibid, p. 141.
[4]Ibid, 1601-1603, Addenda, p. 488.
[1]Ibid, p. 488.
[2]Ibid, 1547-1580, p. 148 and 149.
[3]Murdin: Burghley State Papers, p. 749 and 750.
[4]Haynes: Burghley State Papers, p. 298.
[5]C. of S. P. D., 1547-1580, p. 149.
[6]Ibid, p. 152.

tenants that "no soldiers were to be suffered to live out of employment, idly or suspiciously, nor to carry arms about with them."[7] Later Lord Chandos reported that his county, Gloucestershire, was in a quiet state, but that the prices of all commodities had greatly risen, owing, he thought, to the decreased value of money.[1] His reason is, doubtless, a sound one, as far as it goes, for we know the value of the coinage had been depreciating since Henry's time, and, in addition, a great deal of coin clipping was done at this period in spite of the penalty incurred.

After the return of Mary Stuart to Scotland the French became less interested in Scotland. With the withdrawal of French interest peace was established between England and Scotland. In the next eight years England developed into a wealthy and prosperous country. Some of the peace duties of the Lord Lieutenants had not yet developed and they had little to do except see that an occasional muster was held and the trained bands were drilled. By the summer of 1561 the kingdom had become so quiet that the Queen decided not to issue a new commission of lieutenancy but leave such counties as were without Lord Lieutenants under the charge of the sheriffs and justices of the peace.[2] The depreciation of the coinage had been disturbing some of the Lord Lieutenants and, finally, in 1562, Queen Elizabeth issued a proclamation, fixing the value of both gold and silver moneys. It immediately became the business of the Lord Lieutenants to see that the sheriffs published this proclamation.[1] Toward the end of the year Lord Wentworth was directed to send from his lieutenancy of Norfolk six hundred soldiers to Newhaven.[2] The Calendar of State Papers for this year also mentions the death of the Earl of Oxford who first had been appointed a Lord Lieutenant

[7]Ibid, p. 153.
[1]Ibid, p. 158.
[2]C. of S. P. D., 1547-1580, p. 181.
[1]Ibid, p. 194.
[2]Ibid, p. 214.

under Mary Tudor[3] but who had also served Elizabeth in that capacity.

During 1563 and 1564 the Lord Lieutenants appear to have had little to do, but in 1565, affairs in Scotland again demanded attention. The Protestant Lords were in revolt against their queen. It was in July of this same year that Mary married the ill-starred Darnley. It was in July, also, that Elizabeth, to be ready for any emergency, appointed the Earl of Bedford Lord Lieutenant of Northumberland, Westmoreland, Cumberland, and the Bishopric of Durham.[4] To the Earl of Shrewsbury was given the commission of lieutenancy for York, Nottingham, and Derby. Shrewsbury was allowed to use his own discretion about holding musters in these counties but, in case of sudden trouble, he was to be ready to take command.[4]

The Protestant subjects of Scotland, France, and Spain were at this time engaged in revolt against their Catholic sovereigns. Elizabeth, never willing that the Protestants should be annihilated, was always more or less involved in these struggles, sometimes even giving financial aid to the rebels. Naturally enough French and Spain were on the watch for a chance to retaliate. The easiest method for France was to threaten an invasion; and for Spain, to give aid to the ever restless Irish. In February, 1567, because of Philip's promised aid the rebellion of Shan O'Neal and the outbreak of the feud between the Earls of Ormonde and Desmond disturbed Elizabeth into ordering the Lord Lieutenant of Lancaster and Derby to levy forces from these counties for service in Ireland.[1] By August "preparations on the opposite coasts," the shores of France, convinced the Queen that an invasion from that country was planned and the Lord Lieutenants, especially those of the southern and western counties, were instructed to cause the whole of each shire to be mustered and suitably armed.[2] But this invasion never occurred for the Catholics

[3]Ibid, p. 215.

[4]Ibid, 1601-1603, p. 569.

[1]C. of S. P. D., 1547-1580, p. 288.

[2]Ibid, p. 297.

and the Huguenots in France patched up a peace the following spring.

The year 1568 was a quiet one but it was the quiet that precedes the storm. Mary Stuart, now a prisoner in England, had become the center of a Catholic plot against Elizabeth. The plan was to have Mary marry the Duke of Norfolk, England's highest peer, and then either assassinate Elizabeth or force her to recognize Mary as heir to the English throne. The plot was discovered, and Norfolk was imprisoned, but the Earls of Northumberland and Westmoreland decided to rescue him and started an insurrection. For once Elizabeth can not be accused of procrastinating; she immediately issued a commission of lieutenancy.[1] Sussex was made Lieutenant of the North;[2] the county forces were gathered together by their Lord Lieutenants[3] and were soon advancing against the insurgents. The majority of the Catholics were not ready for such a step as their leaders had planned and remained loyal to Elizabeth. The result was an easy victory for Elizabeth for when the insurgents saw the actual situation many turned and fled rather than face her army.[4]

---

[1]Haynes: Burghley State Papers, p. 559.
[2]Murden: Burghley State Papers, p. 769.
[3]Haynes: Burghley State Papers, p. 560.
[4]C. of S. P. D., 1547-1580, p. 356.

CHAPTER II.

Preparations to Meet Foreign Invasions.

1570—1587.

Altho the Rising in the North was suppressed, Westmoreland and Northumberland escaped into Scotland and the fear that they might succeed in persuading the Scotch or the French to give them forces with which to invade England made Elizabeth take precautions against any such eventuality. Musters of "all persons chargeable with providing horses and geldings" were held throughout the realm[1] and in March horsemen were raised in some shires to send to the Scottish border.[2] In the southern shires the Lord Lieutenants were reminded to inspect carefully the demi-lances and the light horse that the Bishops were required to furnish.[3] Lord Grey found "a great default of weapons, armour, and equipments" when he held the musters in Wiltshire.[4]

Special privilege seems to have been jealously guarded by its possessors in times of danger as at any other time. An instance of this was the case of two of the Cinque Ports, Rye and Winchelsae. Their inhabitants, claiming to have been "privileged in times past to be excused," refused to attend the general muster held by the Lord Lieutenants of Sussex. The Council settled the question by asking Lord Cobham, Warden of the Cinque Ports, to muster the inhabitants of the Ports on a day when the Lord Lieutenants or their deputies could be present with him.[1] This compromise appears to have been a satisfactory arrangement both to the inhabitants of Rye and Winchelsae and to the Lord Lieutenants for we hear no more concerning it.

The Deputy Lieutenants of Norfolk seems to have been very diligent in performing their duties at this time. They reported to the Council that Linne had been "at a great ex-

[1]C. of S. P. D., 1547-1580, p. 363.
[2]Ibid. p. 365.
[3]Ibid, p. 366.
[4]A. of P. C., 1558-1570, p. 360.
[1]A. of P. C., 1558-1570, p. 376 and 380.

pense in repairing the town walls and other places" and had on hand an unusually large amount of grain. The Council, as a reward for their great expenditures, informed the Customer and Comptroller of the port of Linne that 7,000 quarters of barley and malte and 600 quarters of wheat could be exported and that the city of Embden was to be "excluded from the list of prohibited places." A little later the Deputies reported that they had taken a pirate "for spoiling two French ships." The Queen had recently revived her proclamation against pirates and the Council instructed the Deputies to "see that the pyrat and the rest of the offenders may for their deserts suffer such punishments" as the proclamation required, and instructed them to report their proceedings to the Council that the later might "thereby be the better liable to answer the (French) Ambassador as he may find himself satisfied touching the matter."[1] The Norfolk Lieutenants discovered a "conspiracy entered into at Norwich[2] and also had considerable difficulty in collecting the Forced Loan."[3] Other Lord Lieutenants besides those of Norfolk had trouble in getting the money for the Forced Loan, too.[4]

As the year wore on the fear of invasion waned as it became clear that both Scotland and France were occupied with their own affairs. Both 1570 and 1571 were quiet years for the Lord Lieutenants. The most important event was the appointment of the Earl of Huntingdon, already Lord Lieutenant of Rutland and Leicester, to be Lord President of the North[5] and in the following year to be Lord Lieutenant of Yorkshire.[6]

The calm that had settled upon England was rudely shattered in August, 1572, by the news of the massacre of St. Bartholomew's Eve in France. Not England alone, but the entire Protestant world feared this event to be the beginning of another great religious war. England did not intend to

[1]A. of P. C., 1555-1570, p. 371.
[2]Ibid, p. 385.
[3]Ibid, p. 405.
[4]Ibid, p. 403.
[5]Murdin: Burghley State Papers, p. 773.
[6]C. of S. P. D., 1547-1580, p. 468.

be caught unprepared. To assist the Lord Lieutenants the Queen appointed a commission of muster of which each Lord Lieutenant became a member when the commission visited his own shire.[7] Perhaps the Queen still feared that some of her Lord Lieutenants might sympathize with the Catholics and she sought by joining with them men of unimpeachable loyalty to ensure the faithful performance of their duties. Or the commission may have been a device to relieve the pressure on certain over-burdened Lord Lieutenants. Whatever may have been the reason for this particular one certain it is that commissions were the order of the day. There were commissions for suppressing priacy; for the restraint of grain; for the mustering of horses; and for various other purposes.[1] Usually the personnel of these commissions included some of the Lord Lieutenats. This commission of musters, however, seems to have been merely a temporary expedient which was abandoned as soon as the immediate need was over.

The excitement over St. Bartholomew's Eve was not long lived but other things helped to keep the Lord Lieutenants busy, especially those of the southern shires. Pirates were more than usually troublesome[2] and troops had to be trained and in constant readiness for service in Ireland.[3] Not all of the troops raised for the Irish service were destined to be sent across, however, for when the Earl of Bedford's contingent was ready he was ordered to keep them at home in readiness for any emergency that might present itself.[1] When Lord North held the musters in Cambridgeshire he reported that he met opposition from "Mr. Edward Styward a blynde man, very riche, and the most intractable man in her majesty's service"[2] but since Lord North seems to have been involved continually in altercations if we may judge from his own letters at various times to the Council it is possible there may

[7]A. of P. C., 1571-1575, p. 116 and 144.
[1]A of P. C., 1571-1575, records for year 1573.
[2]C. of S. P. D., 1547-1580, p. 481.
[3]A. of P. C., 1571-1575, p. 280.
[1]A. of P. C., 1571-1575, p. 280.
[2]C. of S. P. D., 1547-1580, p. 483.

have been some reason for Mr. Styward's intractableness.

There is little information concerning the Lord Lieutenants and their work for 1576. The only entry in the Calendar of State Papers for that year is a list of the Deputy Lieutenants of the Welsh counties and the four March shires of Monmouth, Shropshire, Hereford, and Worcester.[3] Musters were being held as usual, however, in some counties[4] if not all.

An important change in the policy of the government occurred in 1577. Although the Pope had declared loyalty to Elizabeth irreconcilable with loyalty to the Church as far back as 1570, the English government had paid little attention to the Catholics up to this time. The Earl of Pembroke sent in a certificate of the number of recusants in his county of Wiltshire[5] and Lord Grey certified that none in Buckinghamshire refused to attend church.[1] At first sight this seems to be a duty belonging to ecclesastical rather than government officials and, indeed, the certificates of recusancy were sometimes made by the Bishops[2] but it had a military bearing as well as a religious one.

When issuing instructions for a general muster in 1577 the Council addressed a letter to the Earl of Derby sharply reprimanding him for keeping his records in a careless manner.[3] An interesting side-light on this is the fact that the Queen wrote to the Earl of Derby about this time commending him for his past faithfulness.[4] Was her letter intended to somewhat soften the rebuke of the Council? At any rate the Earl seems to have heeded the Council's admonition for several of his papers regarding the training of the 300 men under his observation in 1577 are still in existence.[5]

Because of failing health the Earl of Bedford was not able to fulfill his duties of Lord Lieutenant of Cornwall, Devon,

---

[3]Ibid, p. 514.
[4]Somerset Mns., p. 2, and Lancashire Lieutenancy, I, p. 66.
[5]C. of S. P. D., 1547-1580, p. 562.
[1]C. of S. P. D., 1547-1580, p. 564.
[2]Lancashire Lieutenancy, I, p. 67.
[3]Ibid, p. 91.
[4]Ibid, p. 93.
[5]Ibid, II, p. 97-103.

and Dorset but the Council did not appoint anyone else in his place. They relieved him from the necessity of attending the musters but requested him to advise and make recommendations to the Justices who were to have charge of the musters.[6] The particular reason for not entirely relieving Bedford was doubtless the Irish situation[7]. The Papal legates were in Ireland at this time and, further, Spain really was sending the Irish aid in their customary annual revolt against the Queen's forces.

Parliament was summoned in January, 1581, and "the Queen's Highness, with the Lord Lieutenants and Bishops in Parliament Robes, did ryde from Her Majesty's Pallaice at Whitehall to the Westminster churche and thene heard a sermon."[1] This session of Parliament is especially important for its anti-papal legislation. Campion and Parsons, the great Jusits, had made their entrance into England during the preceding year and the government was greatly alarmed by their efforts. The Lord Lieutenants were required to assist in enforcing the act against the Catholics in their shires. That it was sometimes the duty of the Lord Lieutenants to supervize the military equipment which the clergy were required to furnish is still further proved by the report of the Leicester Lieutenants concerning "the armour and other warlike furniture to be provided by the clergy in the county."[2]

The Calendar for 1583 contains no less than twenty-eight entries concerning the musters[3] and there is another series of reports by the Lord Lieutenants of the musters of 1584. Included in this later series is a complaint by Lord North that the armour in Cambridge was "very unserviceable and insufficient" and that the furnishing of 800 men would "be a great burden on the shire."[1] A similar complaint was made by the

---

[6]A. of P. C., 1575-1578, p. 242.

[7]C. of S. P. D., 1581-1590, p. 12.

[1]C. of S. P. D., 1581-1590, p. 2

[2]Ibid, p, 144.

[3]C. of S. P. D., 1581-1590, p. 16-144.

[1]C. of S. P. D., 1581-1590, p. 155.

Earl of Rutland for Lincolnshire.[2] Alarmed by "preparations by sea in foreign parts" instructions were sent to the Lord Lieutenants to see that the full number of demi-lances and light horse were kept in readiness in each shire[3] while special orders were issued for the mustering of all able-bodied men.[4] Eleven of the most prominent among the Lord Lieutenants were appointed commissioners to put into execution the statute "for the increase and breed of horses and for keeping horses and geldings for service."[5] Thus passes the year 1581.

The year 1585 was most unseasonable, crops failed and the Council directed the Lord Lieutenants to see that restraint in the exportation of grain was enforced.[6] Apprehension of invasion from abroad was still felt. The Lord Lieutenancy of Southamptonshire was entrusted to the Marquis of Winchester and the Earl of Sussex and they were instructed to levy and arm the whole force of the shire, and keep it in constant readiness to repel any invasion by a foreign enemy.[7] A while later orders were given the Lord Lieutenants to disarm all ill-affected or suspected persons; (without doubt the Catholics) to have beacons watched; to erect a band of petronells; guard the places of descent; and have the forces trained.[1] A list of the Lord and Deputy Lieutenants was drawn up. During this year occurred the death of the Earl of Bedford.[2]

In the early part of 1586 the work of the Lord Lieutenants was very similar to that of the preceding year. The Queen appointed the Marquis of Winchester to fill the Earl of Bedford's place as Lord Lieutenant of Dorset.[2] A list of sixteen questions were sent out to the shires regarding the trained bands of the county, the disarming of Papaists, the landing places, beacons, ammunitions and similar matters.[3] Some-

[2]Ibid, p. 156.
[3]Ibid, p. 169.
[4]Ibid, p. 175.
[5]Ibid, p. 163.
[6]Ibid, p. 243.
[7]Ibid, p. 245.
[1]C. of S. P. D., 1581-1590, p. 248.
[2]A of P. C., 1586-1587, p. 14.
[3]Ibid, p. 46.

times the answers to these questions came from the Lord Lieutenants and sometimes, from the Deputy Lieutenants of the shires. Money for match and powder was collected by the Lord Lieutenants from the borrough and shire towns of the so-called "maritime counties" of Middlesex, Kent, Sussex, Surrey, Norfolk, Suffolk, Berkshire, Buckingham, Warwick, Bedford, Rutland, Cambridge, Hertford, Huntington, Northamton, Leicester, Stafford, Derby, Southampton, Wiltshire, Somerset, Dorset, Devon, Cornwall, Lincoln, York, Oxford, Gloucester, Worcester, Hereford, Salop, Lancaster, and Chester.[1]

Not long after this Elizabeth became sufficiently disturbed over conditions in the Netherlands to make up her mind to send an expedition to the assistance of the Lowlands and the Lord Lieutenants levied men for the service in this expedition.[2] The activities of the Jesuits and Seminary Priests likewise roused the Council to write the Lord Lieutenants that former orders for "the preventing of the acesse and banding of Jesuits and Seminary Priests from the Parte beyond the seas at the portes, creekes, and landing places within the county ... be carefully and diligentlie observed."[3] Meanwhile the levy for the expedition to the Low Countries was not progressing with entire satisfaction for in Chester some thirty men who had volunteered withdrew after their prest money had been paid for them, and the Earl of Derby considered private malice to have been the root of the trouble.[4] The Council requested him to investigate further and ascertain the cause of the malice.[5] The Earl of Leicester was put in charge of the expedition which practically doomed it to failure from the start if for no other reason than that Elizabeth would not allow her favorite to be absent for a sufficient length of time really to accomplish anything unless he had been a genius, which Leicester certainly was not. By Novem-

[1]A. of P. C., 1586-1587, p. 307.
[2]Ibid, p. 55.
[3]Ibid, p. 123.
[4]Ibid, p. 173.
[5]Ibid, p. 181.

ber he had been called home and although the greater part of the forces remained very slight assistance was given by them to the cause of the Netherlands.

In August 1586, came news of the sailing of the Spanish fleet[1] and excitement was very great. The Lord Lieutenants who were slow in returning their certificates of musters were sharply reprimanded by the Council.[2] The new Lord Lieutenants of Dorset reported dissatisfaction with the fortification of Portland Road, Weymouth, and Melcombe Regis.[3]

In the midst of all these frantic preparations to resist invasions we find a letter from Lord Burghley to Walsingham which adds human interest to the story. Burghley confided to Walsingham that he felt "hurt." Her Majesty refused to entrust Essex and Hertford to him but he would have "been more grieved" if he had been "in a similar manner rejected for Northamptonshire" (his native county) where he was "no new planted or new feathered gentleman."[4] It is interesting to note here that Essex and Hertford had instead been placed under the Lord Lieutenancy of Leicester.[5] Small wonder the great Lord Burghley felt hurt!

Again the supervisory character of the duties of the Lieutenancy of the shires is demonstrated by the interference of the Deputy Lieutenants of Norfolk in the elections of that shire. They informed the Council that the sheriff had allowed the election of the Knights of the Shire for Parliament to be made in a disorderly fashion.[1] Immediately the Council gave orders for the holding of a new election, reprimanded the sheriff in no uncertain tone, and required the Deputy Lieutenants "to assist at the said election that fyt men may be chosen known to be well affected in Religion and the present state."[2]

---

[1]Lancashire Lieutenancy, II, p. 176.
[2]A. of P. C., 1586-1587, p. 200.
[3]C. of S. P. D., 1581-1590, p. 349.
[4]Ibid, p. 352.
[5]A. of P. C., 1586-1587, p. 239.
[1]A. of P. C., 1586-1587, p. 241.
[2]Ibid, p. 242.

A letter of a slightly later date addressed to the Earl of Bath informed him of the "special pryvydledge" of the "cytye" of Exeter, confirmed by Act of Parliament, to be mustered within their own jurisdiction and have their "maiour" and some of the "Justyces" present at the muster.[1]

A rumored invasion from Scotland caused some further preparations to be made but the invasion never occurred. The many rumors of war seems only to have served as a spur to the government to have everything in readiness for the day when the reality of war should come upon them. Naturally during such a period the military necessity would give into the hands of the Lord Lieutenants the control of many affairs not entirely military in their nature, such as the suppression of recusancy and the supervision of elections of knights to Parliament, instances of which have been given.

[1]A. of P. C., 1586-1587, p. 249.

CHAPTER III.

Further Preparations.

1587—1593.

The years 1587 and 1588 were years of great activity for the Lord Lieutenants. The execution of Mary Queen of Scots on the 8th of February really began the testing of the organization which the Lord Lieutenants had labored so diligently to perfect for it meant certain war with Spain. An immediate attempt at invasion was expected and four days after Mary's execution the Marquis of Winchester called the attention of the Council to the necessity of further strengthening the defence of Browne's Down and Stoke's Bay in the county of Southampton, "where a thousand ships might lie, and land at one instant 30,000 men."[1] On the 19th, having received information of "a design to surprise the Isle of Wight" the raising of troops in Hampshire and Wiltshire for the defence of the island was ordered.[2] The Somerset Papers contain an list of instructions for the Lord Lieutenants under date of the 21st which included the following:—

Item; whereupon the firing of the beacons the subjects of this realm have been accustomed heretofore to resort to the seaside in great numbers, in very confused and disordered sort, that for the avoiding of the troubles, which the like disorders may breed, and to prevent the like confusion, it is thought meet that upon the firing of the beacons, no man shall put himself in readiness to repair to the seacoasts but such only as are enrolled and reduced under Captains, and others not enrolled to attend to be employed according to such directions as they shall receive from the Lieutenant or his deputies. Captains of the trained or untrained bands are not to depart out of the country without license of the Lieutenant.[1]

The government intended that all places where the enemy

[1]C. of S. P. D., 1581-1590, p. 387.

[2]Ibid, p. 388.

[1]Someset Papers, II, p. 4.

might attempt to land should be well guarded. On February 22nd the Earl of Pembroke was directed to levy and arm men in his counties of Somerset and Wiltshire to be ready "upon 3 days' warning of service in Ireland."[2] A few days later Lord Chandos was ordered to send 1,000 of the trained men of Gloucester into Wales in case of invasion and to choose a thousand more of the trained men for the defence of Milford Haven.[3] Another thousand were ordered raised in Gloucester for the same purpose before the close of March. Musters were held throughout the realm during March and the Privy Council spent considerable energy in communicating with the Lord Lieutenants concerning these musters. At the end of April the Deputy Lieutenants of Dorsetshire again protested that the coasts of their county were defenceless.[1] The Earl of Leicester raised three hundred men in Esssx and half as many more in Hertfordshire for service in the Low Countries. Each man was to have a sword and dagger but the Queen furnished the armour and other necessities.[2]

Not until August did any rumor of a Spanish fleet arise to heighten the excitement and rush preparations for defence of the coast counties. The one hundred and twenty sails reported to have appeared off the Isles of Scilly[3] failed to materialized into the expected Spanish fleet. In October Lord Burghley wrote several Lord Lieutenants to have all things in readiness, for Her Majesty had been informed that "great preparations are now presently made in Spain for the furniture of a mighty army with a navy either for England or the Low Countries."[4] Among other things the Lord Lieutenants were to see that all Recusants in each shire were registered.[4] Essex reported to Burghley that the tower and platform at Portsmouth must be repaired; for at the Queen's coronation

[2]C. of S. P. D., 1581-1590, p. 389.
[3]Ibid, p. 392.
[1]C. of S. P. D., 1581-1590, p. 405.
[2]Ibid, p. 417.
[3]Ibid, p. 422.
[4]Ibid, p. 440.

he durst not shoot off one piece, the tower was so old and rotten."[5]

During the last months of 1587 the Lord Lieutenants were engaged in holding musters and making their reports of conditions in their counties.[6] A bit out of the ordinary line of work for them was the order from the Council to give special publicity to a religious treatise written in answer to a "seditious pamphlet" by Cardinal Allen.[1] Among the many reports sent in at this time that of Sir Walter Raleigh is especially note-worthy. Raleigh was Lord Lieutenant of Cornwall and had been called in conference by the Earl of Bath regarding affairs in Devonshire. Raleigh reported that some of the Commissioners for training the forces in his county were "infected in religion and vehemently malcontent."[2]

We have reached the conclusion of the story for 1587 and have found no attempt at invasion of England by the Spanish forces. Rumor to be sure but no real attempts. Why had Philip allowed almost a year to pass since Mary's execution and not made an attempt, at least, to punish her "murderers?" We all know the answer. It was not Philip's fault in the main but the work of that doughty old English sea dog, Francis Drake. It was early in 1587 when he sailed into Cadiz harbor and "singed the Spanish King's beard" and it took the remainder of 1587 for Philip to get together another fleet—surely the expedition was ill-starred from the beginning. No sooner was that fleet ready than the death of Santa Cruz, the great Spanish Admiral, again caused the postponement of its sailing for a time.

Meantime the Lord Lieutenants were getting England into readiness to meet any emergency. Most of their concern during the early part of the year 1588 seems to have been with the recusants. There appears to have been no uniform system of dealing with these people—some were held in restraint

[5]Ibid, p. 440.

[6]Ibid, pp. 441-443.

[1]C. of S. P. D., 1581-1590, p. 441.

[2]Ibid, p. 445.

in their own houses—some were imprisoned—while others were required only to stay in their own neighborhoods. In Norfolk many recusants had disturbed the Lord Lieutenant by absenting themselves from their houses.[1] In Stafford the Earl of Shrewsbury severely reprimanded the commissioners for recusants for their negligence and ordered the arrest and restraint in custody of certain recusants,[2] while in Essex and Hertfordshire Leicester and his deputies were ordered to take the recusants' arms and armour and sell them "for the better furnishing of the trained bands of those counties."[3] The problem of dealing with women who were recusants greatly puzzled the Earl of Kent, Lord Lieutenant of Bedfordshire, and he finally asked the Council's advice concerning those in his county who "are widows and others married to husbands that are conformable in religion"[4] but what the Council advised him we do not know.

The regular military preparations were carried on and in March the Deputy Lieutenant of Norfolk and Suffolk informed the Council of the fear that the Dunkirkers would interrupt the English fishing—also that the Spanish navy was reported to be coming. "Three ships had been discovered off the coast near Yarmouth sounding the depth of divers places."[5] Soon after this Walsingham ordered several of the Lord Lieutenants, Lord Buckhurst and Lord Howard, among others, to return a certificate of the names of all the material men within their lieutenancy who had served in the wars as captains, lieutenants, ensigns or corporals.[1]

On the 15th of June—the Armada having actually set sail from Lisbon May 20th,—the Lord Lieutenants and other nobles were ordered to attend the Queen.[2] Increased demands for furniture for both horsemen and footmen were gladly com-

[1]C. of S. P. D., 1581-1590, p. 458.
[2]Ibid, p. 460.
[3]Ibid, p. 475.
[4]Ibid, p. 458.
[5]Ibid, p. 470.
[1]C. of S. P. D., 1581-1590, p. 473.
[2]Ibid, p. 489.

plied with by the gentlemen in the counties, according to the Deputy Lieutenants.[3] Shortly after this orders were issued that none should be permitted to repair to the places of assembly but such as the Lord Lieutenants should appoint, and for the appointment of standing watches at all thoroughfares and bridges to examine all persons repairing to the place of assembly.[4]

While they waited for the appearance of the Armanda the nerves of those in official position must have been strained nearly to the breaking point. One evidence of this tension is seen in the dispute between the Marquis of Winchester and the Bishop of Winchester. The Marquis claimed that the Bishop had mustered the forces of the clergy when he (the Marquis) could not be present. To which charge the Bishop replied declaring that he had "mustered the forces of the clergy under the very nose of the Marquis." The Marquis' dry reply that albeit he *was* "well 'nosed,' yet not so long as to reach or smell from Fitchworth to Winchester, being sixteen miles"[1] seems to have closed the argument and incidentally proved to later times that he was blessed with a sense of humor.

Once more misfortune had overtaken the Spanish fleet, it had been scattered by a storm but was finally gathered together and started again on July 12th. The English seem to have been pretty well informed concerning the movements of the Spaniards and on the day before the final sailing of the fleet a set of instructions preserved among the Somerset Papers is of especial note. It seems probable that similar sets of instructions were issued by other Lord Lieutenants than the Earl of Bath, for there were many other maritime counties besides Devonshire. The instructions were to be published generally, that all captains, leaders, and soldiers might hold themselves in readiness.

"All persons of what degree soever, both horsemen and footmen that shall refuse to show their armour and weapons to

[3]Ibid, p. 494-500.

[4]Ibid, p. 497.

[1]C. of S. P. D., 1581-1590, p. 497.

their captains, and all persons whose armour and furniture shall not be found serviceable, for the first offence shall be put into the stocks one whole day, publicly; and for the second offence to the gaol, for ten days, etc. .

Item, all sellers of unserviceable weapons, ill powder, and matches, and so forth, shall be punished.

Item, none to be appointed to watch the beacons by night, or ward by day, but such as are sufficient and discreet persons; and the watchmen to fetch their watchword with the constables or tythingmen, to come out at sunset, and depart at sun-rising; and so the wardsmen to be appointed; and the offenders to be punished at the discretion of the Lieutenants.

Item, if the constables be found faulty and negligent, they shall be imprisoned ten days by the Lord Lieutenant or his Deputies."[1]

On the twelfth of July the Deputy Lieutenants of Kent wrote to Lord Burghley that 2,000 men could be spared to attend Her Majesty's person. They also recommended that their Lord Lieutenant should have command of the forces himself and mentioned the fact that the trained archers had been furnished with muskets.[2]

The long expected fight between the great Spanish Armada and the English fleet began on the 23rd of July. The first encounter took place off Portland and three days later the Deputy Lieutenants of Devon reported that the Roebuck had brought in one of the Spanish ships and intrusted it to their keeping. They had taken all the shot and powder out of her and sent it to the Lord Admiral, and one piece or ordnance they had put into another ship, and sent her to join the fleet. Also, they had taken the Spanish prisoners, almost 400 soldiers out of the Spanish ship at Torbary and brought them ashore. Since the charge of keeping them was great and the peril greater the deputies wanted to be relieved of the charge. They also wished permission to keep six pieces of ordnance out of

[1]Somerset Papers, II, p. 6.

[2]C. of S. P. D., 1581-1590, p. 501.

the Spanish ship for the Castle at Portland.[1] The Lord Lieutenants were land not sea officials and therefore had but little share in the great contest which followed.

On the 25th of August the Privy Council addressed to the Lord Lieutenants of the shires letters thanking them "for their great care in these public services committed to their charge," and directed them to inquire what sums of money had been collected in their counties for armour, conduct money, etc., and how applied; and if the captains have taken money for the release of trained soldiers. Also as to the payment of the soldiers from the time of their arrival at camp.[2] During the remainder of the year the Lord Lieutenants were engaged in making these reports. There seem to have been few instances of abuse. Devonshire felt aggrieved as the exemption of the Stannaries from taxation,[1] and Lord Grey of Wilton reported that in his shire carts had been furnished longer than necessary and that some of the horses were missing. He wished to know whether the officers were to be held accountable or whether the loss should be borne by the shire.[2] A few of the Spanish ships had succeeded in reaching the Irish Coast and this caused another levy of men to be raised for service there.[3] The Earl of Leicester survived the Armada by only a few weeks and Lord Burghley was appointed to succeed him as Lord Lieutenant of Essex and Hertfordshire[4]—the very counties he had "felt hurt" over being refused in 1586. On the whole the country quieted down very quickly.

In 1589 Lord Burghley was busy putting Essex and Hertfordshire into order. He appointed three new Deputy Lieutenants for Essex and in Hertfordshire retained the Earl of Leicester's former deputies,[5] and appointed several new cap-

[1] C. of S. P. D., 1581-1590, p. 513.
[2] Ibid, p. 536.
[1] C. of S. P. D., 1581-1590, p. 547.
[2] Ibid, p. 546.
[3] Ibid, p. 545.
[4] Ibid, p. 567.
[5] Ibid, p. 573.

tains.[6] From one of his letters to his deputies we learn that the Queen ordered that the whole forces of the realm be reviewed, mustered, and put in order.[7] The Deputy Lieutenants of Essex reported proceedings in taking the muster, advised Lord Burghley that one man suggested was "not meet to be a captain of the lances" and asked to be excused from making further certificates until after the harvest.[1] On the 14th of November the Queen's warrant commanded the Lord Chancellor, to issue commissions to the Lord Lieutenants of the several shires authorizing them to appoint provost marshals for the apprehension and punishment of soldiers, mariners, and other vagrant and masterless persons and sturdy vagabonds, committing insolencies, depredations, or enormities upon Her Majesty's subjects.[2] The Council directed Burghley himself to appoint provost marshals for his counties. By the 9th of December, however, Hertfordshire having been cleared of many idle and vagrant persons Lord Burghley decided that the provost marshals need only ride together three days every fortnight. He instructed his Deputy Lieutenants to hold special sessions for the trial of disbanded soldiers and vagrants and order them to keep up the watch and ward.[3]

In August the assassination of Henry III of France had left the throne to Henry of Navarre. With the possibility of a Protestant king in France Elizabeth decided it was time to aid the Huguenots who had so long prayed for her assistance, and in September the Lord Lieutenants of Kent, Sussex, and Hampshire and the Lord Mayor of London were ordered to levy 4,000 men to be sent into France for the assistance of Henry of Navarre.[1]

The destruction of the Armada had practically insured England against attack from Spain for a year at least, and there

[6]Ibid, p. 602.
[7]Ibid, p. 600.
[1]C. of S. P. D., 1581-1590, p. 612.
[2]Ibid, p. 629.
[3]Ibid, p. 633.
[1]C. of S. P. D., 1581-1590, p. 615.

seem to have been not even rumors of Spanish invasion during 1589, but in January 1590 "preparations of the King of Spain" caused orders to be sent out to put the forces of the shires in readiness before the first of March.[2] In February Lancashire and Cheshire, Wiltshire, Hereford Salop, and Worcester raised a small force for service in Ireland.[3] On the 7th of March the new Deputy Lieutenants of Essex sent in their first report concerning the forces of the shire and on the 29th a supplementary report concerning the mustering of all the mariners, gunners, fishermen and other sea-faring men within the county. The mariners complained, so the Deputies told Lord Burghley, that they were kept from their ordinary occupations by being constrained to attend at three hour's warning. They also sent a list of the recusants who had been restrained and disarmed during the Earl of Leicester's lieutenancy.[4] Other counties sent in reports concerning the recusants as well as concerning the forces.[5]

In 1590 there was a great drought and the crops were seriously affected. From the Court at Greenwich on the 28th of July the Council communicated to Lord Burghley their fear of "dearth and a rise in the prices of grain, especially in barley" and requested him as Lord Lieutenant in his shires to "take order" for restraining "the engrossing of corn by the Badgers," and not to permit them "to forestall the markets by purchasing at the farmers' houses."[1] We learn more of the seriousness of this drought the following February. So many cattle had perished during the summer that the Lord Lieutenants were asked to "take extraordinary care that the statute against killing and eating flesh in Lent" were duly enforced. One butcher in each town might be permitted to kill and sell to such as had license, for health's sake to eat flesh.[2]

During January 1591 the Lord Lieutenants were levying

[2]Ibid, p. 641.
[3]Ibid, p. 648 and 651.
[4]Ibid, p. 652 and 656.
[5]Ibid, p. 654.
[1]Salisbury Papers, IV, p. 52.
[2]C. of S. P. D., 1590-1594, p. 9.

forces to go to the assistance of Henry IV against the Spanish. At least twenty shires sent men into Brittany. There are several estimates of the total number of troops ranging from 1500 to 3000. Elizabeth had become alarmed when the Spanish had captured some of the French ports and this explains the sending of an army to France.[3] In April reinforcements were sent into the Netherlands.[4] The Queen issued a proclamation against the "Spanish boasts" in October concerning the raising of the forces of the realm. Musters had been ordered and the Lord Lieutenants were asked to see that the companies were properly furnished with arms and munition.[1] Later a list was drawn up naming the twenty-five counties which had returned their certificates of musters and the twenty-two that had not yet done so.[2]

At the beginning of the new year France still needed English aid and reenforcements were sent from various shires.[3] Then the deficiency in the supplies and men of the bands in the shires had to be filled up.[4] While these matters were being attended to the recusants in some shires became troublesome. In a letter from the Council to the Earl of Huntingdon the cause of "the defection in religion which has lately grown" was attributed to overmuch leniency being shown to such as willfully refuse to go to church and the cure was declared to be to secure the principal of the obstinate persons in Yorkshire in some place of strength the Earl might choose. They were to be allowed no visitors but such as were "meet to reform them by teaching."[5] Later on the Queen was greatly pleased by the work of the Earl of Derby in discovering "a number of evil-disposed persons" including one Bell a seminary priest.[6]

[3]Ibid, p. 1-7.
[4]Ibid, p. 31.
[1]C. of S. P. D., 1590-1594, p. 113.
[2]Ibid, p. 154.
[3]Ibid, 188, 265 and 274.
[4]Ibid, p. 198.
[5]Ibid, p. 253.
[6]Ibid, p. 283.

Early in 1593 Parliament passed an "Act against Popish Recusants" the seventh article of which allowed "such recusants as had necessarie occasion or business" to go outside the five mile zone around their homes providing they had a license signed by the Bishop of the Diocese *or* by the *Lord Lieutenant or Deputy Lieutenants* of the shire.[1] Evidently matters concerning religion did not improve for on the last day of December the Council issued warrants to certain of the Lord Lieutenants to make inquisition within their counties as to what recusants or "such as do conform themselves in shew only" had sons being educated to be Jesuits, or at least Papists, and gave authority to the Lord Lieutenants or their deputies to search the Recusants' houses.[2]

The Earl of Derby was among those Lord Lieutenants who were required to levy men for service in Ireland because the Queen feared trouble would be stirrd up there by the Spanish. Derby was to choose the captains who were to take his forces into Ireland.[3] Further reenforcements were sent to France also in 1593. The Lord Lieutenants were to see that no men were taken to France from places that were infected by the plague but such places were to be charged a reasonable amount to help fit out the expedition.[4]

[1]Statutes of the Realm, Vol. IV, Part II, p. 845.
[2]Murdin: State Papers of Elizabeth, p.6 67.
[3]C. of S. P. D., 1591-1594, p. 353.
[4]Ibid, p. 358.

CHAPTER IV.

The Last Years of Elizabeth's Reign.

1593—1603.

The situation in France in 1593 roused the suspicions of Elizabeth. Henry IV had finally accepted the mass and was, therefore, recognized by the majority of the French people, but the extremists refused to withdraw their allegiance from the Spanish Infanta. This opposition together with Philip's seizure of French ports in Brittany was undoubtedly the cause for England's continued assistance to Henry. Philip too was known to be preparing another Armada to invade England.

During 1594 the Queen called the forces of Surrey, Kent, and Hertfordshire to London but what the "special cause" for having them there was is still uncertain.[1] In August a memorandum was sent to the Marquis of Winchester concerning soldiers who deserted from the forces going to Brittany.[2] In the meantime the Earl of Tyrone, aided by Philip, was in revolt in Ireland and a few troops were sent over; more had to be sent in 1595[3] but not many were sent at either time. Several counties had no Lord Lieutenants at this time and a commission to the Council in August allowed them "to authorize the sheriffes and certain special persons to execute the Office of Lieutenantshippe in Middlesex, Bucks., Northampton, etc."[4]

Lord Burghley's deputy Lieutenants for Lincoln reported to him in September that the trained bands were not supplied with such armour as would "content your Lordship." Some 200 had been sent to France but none returned and after harvest or by next spring the lack should be made up. At about the same time the deputies for Hertfordshire asked of an extension of time in returning their certificates because most of the gentlemen of the county had "their serviceable geldings at grass and by suddenly taking them up and training them,

[1] C. of S. P. D., 1590-1594, p. 571.

[2] Salisbury Papers, IV, p. 597.

[3] C. of S. P. D., 1595, p. 61 and 64.

[4] Murdin: State Papers of Elizabeth, p. 807.

they might be utterly spoiled."[1] Two days later orders for a new muster of the forces by all the Lieutenants of shires were issued.[2]

The deputies for Hertfordshire reported to Burghley in October that there were many defects in the trained bands, the 100 bows were entirely unserviceable, and they recommended the substitution of muskets in their place. They also asked that charges be reduced as rents were extremely high and many who formerly contributed had sold their lands to London merchants who refused to contribute in Hertfordshire because they were charged in London.[3] At the same time the Deputies reported to the Council regarding the high prices of food, especially grain. They thought it due to London traders buying most of the local supplies and recommended that London buy foreign corn, since the English crop was very small, and leave the local supply for local consumption.[1] Essex was also reported to be suffering from high prices and here, again, the deputies thought it to be because so much of the countie's produce was purchased for London.[2] Because of the "dangerous sickness" of one deputy and absence from the county of another the remaining deputy, Sir Thomas Mildmay, asked that the training of the forces of Essex might be postponed. He also appealed to Lord Burghley as to the amount he should pay the muster master for his services. A few days later Burghley replied that Mildmay's request for deferring training could not be granted but that his offer to the muster master had been sufficient.[3] The high prices in Hertfordshire continued to disturb the deputies and two further letters were addressed to Burghley in November.[4]

Early in 1596 another levy for service in Ireland[5] was made in certain shires but soon interest in the Irish revolt was over-

[1]C. of S. P. D., 1595, p. 98.
[2]Ibid, p. 99.
[3]C. of S. P. D., 1595, p. 108.
[1]Ibid, p. 107.
[2]Ibid, p. 110.
[3]Ibid, p. 112.
[4]Ibid, p. 126 and 136.
[5]C. of S. P. D., 1595, p. 178 and 182.

shadowed by the Spanish capture of Calais. On May 23d a warrant was issued to the Lord Keeper of the Great Seal to make out new commissions for Lieutenants of Shires.[6] The same day the Queen ordered the Lord Lieutenants of twelve southern counties to raise 200 men in each shire to sail to the succor of Boulogne.[1] Again, in September more troops were mustered to be sent to Henry's assistance, and about two thousand were sent.[2] Then in late October 282 men were levied by the Earl of Bath for service in Ireland.[3] To a letter to the Council regarding a quarrel between two captains which he had been ordered to investigate the Earl of Bath attached a postscript informing the Council of the high prices and great want in Devon and asked that gentlemen "of the better sort be straitly commanded to return home again (from the city) as well to give hospitality for the relief of the poor which begins to grow infinite, as also to be at hand to stay the fury of the inferior multitude if they happen to break out into sudden outcry for want of relief."[4] This request was granted and gentlemen of means were commanded to return to their country homes and give relief to the poor.[5] In Oxfordshire the condition of the poor was particularly hard because of enclosures. The people became so desperate that a rising was planned but the Lord Lieutenants discovered it and petitioned for authority to prevent enclosures so that the poor might be able to live.[6]

About this time all else was overshadowed by the fact that Philip's second Armada had set sail. Lord Burghley advised the Council to raise all the forces of the shires for coast defence and put all the Lord Lieutenants under a Lieutenant-General. The importation of foreign grain, removal of all cattle and food supplies from the sea cost regions where the

[6]Murdin; State Papers of Elizabeth, p. 809.
[1]C. of S. P. D., 1595, p. 219.
[2]Ibid, p. 277.
[3]Somerset Papers, II, p. 19.
[4]Somerset Papers, II, p. 20.
[5]Ibid, p. 24.
[6]C. of S. P. D., 1595, p. 316.

enemy might land, the carrying off of all the grindstones from the mills, the confinement of all recusants, and the taking of bonds from all parents whose children had fled from the realm not to communicate with them, were other measures he thought wise for the defense of the realm.[1] All the preparations proved unnecessary, however, for a great storm destroyed the fleet, though Philip immediately began the construction of a third Armada.

The first activities of the Lord Lieutenants in 1597 were the raising of forces for Ireland. As usual the numbers were small but several detachments were sent during the year. The forces of the Cardinal of Austria began to threaten Boulogne in late April and Elizabeth, immediately alarmed, raised a large force to relieve the city. The Earl of Pembroke was directed to levy, arm, and muster 450 men in Somerset, 150 in Wiltshire, and 150 in Hereford; Sir Walter Raleigh, 150 in Cornwall; Lord St. John, 100 in Huntington; Lord Chandos, 150 in Gloucestershire; Lord North, 100 in Cambridgeshire; the Marquis of Winchester, 150 in Dorset; the Earl of Bath, 450 in Devon; Lord Buckhurst, 400 in Sussex; the Marquis of Winchester and Lord Mountjoy, 150 in Hampshire; Lord Norris, 150 in Oxfordshire; the Earl of Kent, 150 in Bedfordshire; Lord Admiral, 150 in Surrey; the Lord Treasurer, 400 in Essex and 150 in Hertfordshire; the Lord Mayor, 500 in London. Buckinghamshire was to send 150, Warwick the same number, Norfolk, 450; Berkshire, 150; Suffolk, 456; Northamptonshire, 150; and Midlesex, 150. Kent was required to raise 1,700 men, the largest total for any shire.[1] These levies made the largest army Elizabeth had ever gathered to be sent out of England and shows how serious she must have considered the menace. Shortly after this a storm destroyed the new Spanish fleet but as the English ships caught in this same storm successfully weathered the gale it was almost as good as an actual victory for England. It proved to Tyrone that

[1]Ibid, p. 303.

[1]C. of S. P. D., 1595, p. 399-400.

Philip was not an effective ally and resulted in a truce between the Irish revolutionists and the English.

Early in 1598 the Queen caused Sir Walter Raleigh's commission of Lieutenancy for Cornwall to be renewed and at the same time appointed two additional Deputy Lieutenants to assist him.[2] From this time on it became the government policy to have more than two Deputy Lieutenants even in the small shires. The Council also directed Sir Walter to fortify Falmouth,[3] and later sent several companies of old soldiers there to serve under his command.[1]

Lord Burghley's death removed one of the Queen's most trusted and faithful Lord Lieutenants. His influence through his membership in the Privy Council had been exercised in many counties besides those under his own Commission. Only a few weeks after his death came that of Philip II of Spain, ever Burghley's most hated enemy. Philip's death ended the nightmare of Spanish invasion of England though in 1601 Ireland was invaded.

Essex had taken an English fleet to Cadiz the previous summer in an effort to repeat Drake's achievement of earlier days. Upon its return letters of commendation were sent to the Lord Lieutenants of several shires for their part in raising men and equipment for it. These letters also informed them that Essex had taken great pains to bring back "all such arms and furnitures as could by any means be saved" which had been given into the keeping of Sir Ferdinando Gorges at Plymouth. Each Lord Lieutenant was to decide whether his county's supplies should remain at Plymouth or be removed.[2]

Lord North was given special charge over the recusants in Cambridgeshire and a little later when a qurral arose between two keepers of the recusants in his county the Council directed him to act in his capacity as Lord Lieutenant, "hear the controversy between them and set such order in the same as

[2]A. of P. C., 1597-1598, p. 244.

[3]A. of P. C., 1597-1598, p. 244.

[1]Ibid, p. 259.

[2]A. of P. C., 1597-1598, p. 250.

your Lordship shall think agreeable to equity and for the better and safer keeping of the aforesaid prisoners."[1]

In October Sir Thomas Burghley tried to secure the commission of Lieutenancy for Lincoln, where he had served as his father's deputy.[2] Apparently the Queen never appointed another Lord Lieutenant for Lincoln but later she made Sir Thomas the Lord Lieutenant for Yorkshire, the city of York, the town of Hull, the Bishopric of Durham, Newcastle-on-Tyne, and the counties of Northumberland, Cumberland, and Westmoreland.[3]

By this time Tyrone had begun another revolt in Ireland, therefore in June, 1596, some two thousands recruits were impressed by the Lord Lieutenants and sent into Ireland. This levy came from Worcestershire, Salop, Stafford, Warwick, Lancshire, Cheshire, and the Welsh counties, and contained very few hardened soldiers.[4] The result was that they were ineffective and in October another levy was sent to reinforce them from Cornwall, Devon, Dorset, Southampton, Oxford, Somerset, and Wiltshire.[5] Altho the Marquis of Winchester had died before this levy was made the Queen appointed two more Deputy Lieutenants for Southampton rather than a new Lord Lieutenant.[1] Ormond had not been successful as Lord Deputy of Ireland and was superseded in January, 1599, by the Earl of Essex. When Essex arrived in Ireland in April he reported that there were 16,000 foot and 1,300 horsemen in her Majesty's pay in Ireland but asked that reinforcements of 2,000 men be sent over every three months.[2] The first sixty pages of the Acts of the Privy Council for 1598-1599 are almost entirely devoted to the directions to the Lord Lieutenants and their subordinates for raising these forces. However, Essex was not more successful than Ormond in suppressing

[1]Ibid, p. 299.
[2]C. of S. P. D., 1598-1601, p. 113.
[3]Ibid, p. 273.
[4]A. of P. C., 1597-1598, p. 524.
[5]A. of P. C., 1598-1599, p. 209.
[1]Ibid, p. 607.
[2]A. of P. C., 1598-1599, p. 739.

the revolt and Lord Mountjoy was appointed Lord Deputy in his stead. This is the same Lord Mountjoy who had been Lord Lieutenant of Southampton under the same commission as the late Marquis of Winchester.

The revolt was not crushed in 1600. By this time the English soldiery were tired of service in Ireland and continually troubled the authorities by deserting. The Deputy Lieutenants, especially in the Welsh counties, had grown careless in selecting their recruits. After reprimanding the Deputy Lieutenants themselves the Council finally reported to the Earl of Pembroke that they were negligent.[3] The people of Merioneth accused their Deputy Lieutenants of misappropriating the funds they had collected and of taking armour and munition to the value of £1000 from the county's store for their own use. The Earl of Pembroke investigated the charge against his deputies and reported the case to Star Chamber, which convicted them.[1] It was in connection with this case that the Lord Keeper pronounced "that there ought to be in each county two deputy Lieutenants at least, and anything done by one only is void; and the Lieutenant of a county does not make them, but they are named to the Queen and she herself makes them."[2]

The Lord Lieutenants raised for Ireland 2,000 men in June and another 2,000 in July.[3] Sometime after this the Council wrote to Lord Cobham "As we are ready to note the neglects and faults that are committed in the execution of those services that concern the state of the realm whereby great prejudice doth often argue and hindrance to those weighty causes, so we do not forget to observe the good endevors of those Lieutenants and counties that with heedfull care do perform those direccions they receave from her Majesty and from us in these occassions of public service. Emongst others we do verie well discerne the extraordinary regard your Lordship used both

---

[3]A. of P. C., 1599-1600, p. 739.

[1]Hawarde: Les Reportes del cases in Camera Stellata, p 115-116

[2]A. of P. C., 1599-1600, p. 417.

[3]Ibid, p. 445.

in former tymes and in the last levy of men that was made in that county of Kent under your Lordship's Lieutenancy for the service of Ireland, wherein as you care is chiefest, so your Deputy Lieutenants following your good example have shewed very forward indevors therein, which according to our dutyes we have made known unto her Majesty, and her pleasure is that her gracyous acceptance thereof should not only be made known to your Lordship by our letter, but to your Deputy Lieutenants and the rest of the Justices that do take paines in their service, whom we pray your Lordship to make them partakers hereof and of our thanks also in that behalf."[1]

More reinforcements were sent to Ireland in 1601.[2] Early in the year the Earl of Pembroke died and the Earl of Hertford was appointed Lord Lieutenant of Somerset and Wiltshire in his place.[3] The Deputy Lieutenants thought to welcome him by having new coats for all the county tained bands but the Privy Council considered it a needless expense and instructed Hertford to forbid it.[4] In September a Spanish fleet landed in Ireland and 5,000 men were sent over,[5] but they failed and shortly afterward peace was made. As a result of the Irish, French and Netherlands campaigns there seem to have been many crippled soldiers and it became the Lord Lieutenants' duty to see that they were taken care of.[6]

Lord North had died in 1600 but his successor in Cambridgeshire was not appointed till 1602 when the commission was given to Lord Howard of Walden.[7] There was some fighting in Ireland in 1602 and a few levies were raised and sent there[1] but the year was a comparatively uneventful one for the Lord Lieutenants.

The great Queen died on the twenty-fourth of March, 1603. She had outlived many of her old and most trusted servants

[1]A. of P. C., 1599-1600, p. 599.
[2]A. of P. C., 1600-1601, p. 318 and Somerset Papers, II, p. 53.
[3]A. of P. C., 1600-1601, p. 304
[4]A. of P. C., 1601-1604, p. 99.
[5]Ibid, p. 223.
[6]A. of P. C., 1601-1604, p. 367.
[7]C. of S. P. C., 1598-1601, p. 419.
[1]Somerset Papers, II, p. 55.

among her Lord Lieutenants. Since 1570 the Lord Lieutenants seem to have been regular and permanent officials, directly responsible to the Queen. She kept close watch over them and, as we have seen, let them know her displeasure when the result of their labors did not prove satisfactory, but she also deigned to commend them "gracyously" when she felt they deserved it. Their importance during her reign was great but not what is was to become under the next dynasty, for Elizabeth like the earlier Tudors kept her finger on the pulse of her people.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Calendar of State Papers Domestic.
1547-1603.

Acts of the Privy Council.
1558-1604.

Statutes of the Realm. Vol. IV.

Historical Manuscripts Commission Reports.
Somerset Manuscripts.
Salisbury Papers, Vol. I-IV.

Haynes: State Papers of Lord Burghley.

Murdin: State Papers of Lord Burghley in Elizabeth's Reign.

Hawarde: Les Reports del Cases in Camera Stellata. 1593-1609.
Privately Published, 1894.

Stow: Chronicle of England.

Camden: Britannia.

Camden: Annals of Elizabeth.

Harrison: England.

Rymer: Foedera.

Prothero: Statutes and Constitutional Documents. 1559-1625.

Cooper: Annals of Cambridge, Vol. II.

Lancashire Lieutenancy.
(Chetham Society Publications, Vol. 49 and 50.)

NOTE: This dissertation was completed and in the hands of the printer before Gladys Scott Thomson's "Lord Lieutenants in the Sixteenth Century" was published. For that reason the present author was unable to make any use of it.